

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 COME-00

EB-08 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01

OMB-01 CEA-01 STR-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00

INRE-00 HA-05 IO-13 /105 W

-----002099 081925Z /45

O 081721Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1309

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LIMA 7021

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINT, PE

SUBJECT: HAYA APPEALS FOR USG MORAL SUPPORT

SUMMARY: HAYA DE LA TORRE SUMMONED ME TO EXPRESS HIS GROWING CONCERN OVER THE THREAT TO DEMOCRATIZATION POSED BY THE ACTIVITIES OF THE EXTREME LEFT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS, THE DEMANDS OF THE IMF AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY APPARENT PROSPECT FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE LOT OF THE POOR AND THE WORKING CLASSES MAKE EXTREMIST APPEALS FOR SUCH "SOLUTIONS" AS REPUDIATION OF PERU'S FOREIGN DEBT INCREASINGLY ATTRACTIVE. HAYA ANTICIPATES DIFFICULTY IN THE ASSEMBLY NEXT WEEK WHEN THE TIME COMES TO DEAL WITH THE RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE EXTREME LEFT. HE ASKED AS A MEANS OF PROVIDING MORAL SUPPORT AND, ABOVE ALL HOPE, THAT WE ISSUE A STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS INDICATING RECOGNITION OF THE PROFOUND CHANGE THAT IS TAKING PLACE IN PERU AND OUR DISPOSITION TO "RE STUDY" THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IN THAT LIGHT. I SAID IT WOULD SEEM DIFFICULT TO ME TO FIND THE PROPER CONTEXT AND OCCASION FOR A STATEMENT ON SHORT NOTICE, BUT I PROMISED TO CONSULT. HAYA WAS TOUCHED AND PLEASED BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S
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PERSONAL MESSAGE.

COMMENT: HAYA HAS CAUSE FOR CONCERN. THE EXTREME LEFT HAS THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE AND IS ABLE TO MANEUVER APRA AND THE PPC INTO APPEARING AS DEFENDERS OF THE DISCREDITED MILITARY GOVERNMENT. BUT I CAN SEE NO REAL POSSIBILITY FOR A STATEMENT FROM US AT THIS TIME, UNLESS

WE COULD SAY SOMETHING HELPFUL ABOUT DEBT RESCHEDULING.
ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE BY NEXT MONDAY WOULD BE
APPRECIATED. END SUMMARY.

1. APRA'S ANDREAS TOWNSENT CALLED ME YESTERDAY AFTERNOON
TO SAY THAT "VICTOR RAUL" WANTED TO SEE ME URGENTLY.
I WENT TO THE CONGRESS WHERE HAYA RECEIVED ME ALONE IN
THE PRESIDENTIAL SUITE. THE SUMMONS PUZZLED ME INASMUCH
AS WE HAD ASKED LAST FRIDAY FOR AN APPOINTMENT TO DELIVER
PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE; BUT IT WAS QUICKLY
APPARENT THAT HAYA KNEW NOTHING OF THAT REQUEST.

2. HAYA SAID HE WANTED THE USG TO KNOW OF HIS DEEP
CONCERN OVER THE GROWING THREAT TO THE PROCESS OF
DEMOCRATIZATION. WASHINGTON SHOULD UNDERSTAND, HE SAID,
THAT HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE NOW BEEN RESTORED IN PERU;
MORALES BERMUDEZ HAS KEPT HIS WORD AND A FREE AND
SOVEREIGN CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY HAS BEEN INSTALLED.
THIS FULFILLS THE EXPECTATIONS OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S
POLICY, A POLICY HAYA AND HIS PARTY WELCOME. NOW THE
MORAL SUPPORT OF THE USG IS NEEDED TO PREVENT THE BREAK-
DOWN THE EXTREME LEFT IS ATTEMPTING TO BRING ABOUT.
THERE SHOULD BE SOME SIGN FROM WASHINGTON, HAYA INSISTED,
THAT THE USG RECOGNIZES THE PROFOUND CHANGE TAKING PLACE
IN PERU AND IS PREPARED TO ACT ACCORDINGLY.
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3. THE PROBLEM, AS HAYA DESCRIBED IT, IS THAT THE EXTREME
LEFT IS INCREASINGLY SUCCESSFUL IN REACHING THE
PEOPLE AND BUILDING SUPPORT FOR RADICAL, IRRATIONAL
SOLUTIONS. THE GOP, WEAK AND ALMOST "PARALYZED", MADE
THE FATAL MISTAKE OF "SURRENDERING" TO SUTEP (THE
TEACHERS' STRIKE) AGAINST APRA'S ADVICE. NOW THE BANK
WORKERS, THE MINERS AND HEALTH WORKERS ARE OUT ON STRIKE.
THERE IS WIDESPREAD HUNGER IN LIMA; THE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN
BRUTALLY HIT BY THE ECONOMIC CRISIS; AND, AS A RESULT,
FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN THE EXTREMISTS CALL FOR THE REPUDIATION
OF PERU'S FOREIGN DEBT THE MASSES LISTEN WITH APPROVAL.
ALL THIS IS HAVING ITS EFFECT AMONG THE ASSEMBLYMEN. HAYA
RECALLED THAT AT THE RECENT PARTY CAUCAS APRISTA ASSEMBLYMEN
HAD ASKED SERIOUSLY WHY DEBT REPUDIATION MIGHT NOT BE A GOOD
IDEA.

4. THE GOP, HAYA CONTINUED, NOW PROPOSES TO CEDE TO
THE ASSEMBLY AUTHORITY ABOVE AND BEYOND THE FUNCTION
OF CONSTITUTION-WRITING. OBVIOUSLY THE IDEA IS TO LET
THE ASSEMBLY COPE WITH THE STRIKES SET OFF BY THE
GOVERNMENT'S SURRENDER TO SUTEP. HAYA SAID HE WANTED

"TO GET THE PLAY BACK INTO THE GOVERNMENT'S COURT".
A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY THE USG HOLDING OUT PROMISE FOR
A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH PERU NOW THAT DEMOCRACY IS
UNDERWAY WOULD GIVE HOPE TO THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN
THE ASSEMBLY. HE WAS NOT ASKING FOR SWEEPING PROMISES,
JUST FOR A PUBLIC INDICATION THAT WE WOULD BE "RESTUDYING"
THE RELATIONSHIP WITH A VIEW TO SYMPATHETIC RESPONSES TO
PERU'S NEEDS.

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ACTION ARA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1310

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LIMA 7021

5. I REPLIED WITH A REVIEW OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE IN
PL-480 AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. AS FOR DEBT, I SAID
WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE RESCHEDULING IN CONCERT
WITH OTHERS ONCE THE IMF AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED.
WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE IMF'S CONDITIONS HAVE CREATED
HARDSHIP AND THAT PERUVIANS TEND TO IDENTIFY THE USG
WITH THE FUND. (HAYA MOST EMPHATICALLY AGREED.) BUT
WE ARE PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL NOW AND TO THE FUTURE
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AS AVAILABLE RESOURCES PERMIT.
WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPOSED STATEMENT, I SAID THERE
SEEMED TO ME A PROBLEM IN FINDING A PROPER CONTEXT AND
OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS OUR SUPPORT FOR PERUVIAN DEMOC-
RATIZATION. A SUDDEN DECLARATION IN WASHINGTON MIGHT
PROVE ANOTHER "BLUNDER" (DISPARATE). I THEN TOOK THE
OCCASION TO HAND HAYA PRESIDENT CARTER'S MESSAGE.

6. HE WAS CLEARLY TOUCHED. HE SAID THE PRESIDENT'S
WORDS LIFTED SOME OF THE DISCOURAGEMENT HE HAD FELT
AND THAT HE WANTED THE PRESIDENT TO KNOW OF THIS GREAT
APPRECIATION. (HAYA HAS SINCE REPLIED BY TELEX -SEPTEL.)

BUY, HAYA WENT ON, SOME STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON GIVING
HOPE WOULD STILL BE NEEDED. HE URGED THAT I SEE WHAT
COULD BE DONE IMMEDIATELY. THE CRITICAL TIME IS NOW
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BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY MEETS IN ITS FIRST REGULAR SESSION
WHEN THE TWO RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE LEFT WILL
COME UP (CALLING INTER ALIA FOR REINSTATEMENT OF
DISCHARGED STRIKE AGITATORS, REPUDIATION OF THE
FOREIGN DEBT, DISSOLUTION OF THE GOP, ETC.). BECAUSE
OF THE POPE'S FUNERAL THAT SESSION WILL PROBABLY BE
POSTPONED UNTIL MONDAY. I AGAIN EXPRESSED DOUBT ABOUT
OPPORTUNITY AND CONTEXT BUT SAID I WOULD CONSULT.

7. COMMENT: HAYA IS NOT ALONE IN HIS ALARM OVER THE
WAVE OF STRIKES AND THE MUSCLE-FLEXING OF THE EXTREME
LEFT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER GAVE ME ALMOST PRECISELY
THE SAME RECITAL LATER IN THE AFTERNOON YESTERDAY, ADDING
THAT IF THE CHOICE WERE TO BE BETWEEN "TROTSKYISM
AND A NEW MILITARY GOVERNMENT", THERE SHOULD BE NO
QUESTION AS TO THE INEVITABLE RESULT, HOWEVER UNHAPPY
THAT RETROGRESSION MIGHT BE. THE CENTRAL PROBLEM OF
HOW TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIZATION AT A TIME
OF ECONOMIC CRISIS AND INCREASING HARDSHIP FOR THE POOR
HAS NOT CHANGED. WHAT HAS CHANGED IS THAT THOSE WHO
LEAD THE EFFORT TO "BLOW UP THE SYSTEM" (THEIR OWN
WORDS) ARE NOW BEYOND THE GOVERNMENT'S REACH IN THE
SAFETY OF PARLIAMENTARY IMMUNITY. AND GENWRO LEDESMA,
HUGO BLANCO, DIAZ-CANSECO AND THE LIKE ARE OUT EVERY
FREE MOMENT IN THE MINING CAMPS, THE COUNTRYSIDE AND
THE URBAN SLUMS WHERE THEY SAY THE REAL BATTLE WILL BE WON.

8. WITHIN THE ASSEMBLY APRA AND THE PPC HAVE THE VOTES,
BUT FOCEP AND THE UDP HAVE THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE.
THEY CAN PLAY AT WILL ON THE POPULAR REJECTION OF THE
MILITARY GOVERNMENT, CONDEMN ITS EVERY ACT, PROPOSE BOLD
"SOLUTIONS" AND MANEUVER THE MAJORITY INTO APPEARING ON
ALMOST ANY ISSUE AS THE DEFENDERS OF THE GOP. FOR HIS
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PART, MORALES BERMUDEZ NEEDS APRA'S COOPERATION AND, AS
HAYA OBSERVED, WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE PLEASED IF THE
ASSEMBLY MAJORITY TOOK THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH
DISAGREEABLE PROBLEMS AS LABOR DISPUTES. THIS GIVES HAYA
CONSIDERABLE LEVERAGE ON SUCH MATTERS AS ELECTION
SCHEDULES. BUT THE APRISTAS MUST BE ASKING THEMSELVES

WHAT GOOD IS THAT IF WE GET BURNED IN THE PROCESS?
WHAT IF BELAUDE WAS RIGHT ALL ALONG IN CHOOSING NOT TO PLAY?

9. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES I FIND IT DIFFICULT NOT TO SYMPATHIZE WITH HAYA'S HOPE FOR ANOTHER INDICATION FROM WASHINGTON THAT WE WELCOME THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE TAKING PLACE HERE AND LOOK FORWARD TO INCREASING COOPERATION WITH PERU AS IT STRUGGLES WITH ITS CRISIS. BUT I AM UNABLE AT THE MOMENT TO ENSURE HOW WE WOULD DO THIS ON SHORT NOTICE WITHOUT RAISING FALSE EXPECTATIONS OR APPEARING TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESS, OR BOTH. IT DOES OCCUR TO ME, HOWEVER, THAT A PUBLIC STATEMENT WITH RESPECT TO OUR DISPOSITION TO ENTERTAIN SYMPATHETICALLY PERU'S FORTHCOMING REQUEST FOR DEBT RESCHEDULING COULD BE HELPFUL IN THE CURRENT DEBATE. (THE PAPERS THIS MORNING CARRY A STATEMENT BY TOWNSEND ASSERTING THAT THE LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENT HAS AGREED TO INTERCEDE WITH THE IMF TO OBTAIN "EXCEPTIONAL TERMS" FOR THE REPAYMENT OF PERU'S DEBT. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY ANOTHER OF HAYA'S ATTEMPTS TO BUILD A BACKFIRE.) BUT AGAIN THERE IS THE QUESTION OF AN APPROPRIATE OCCASION. OTHERWISE, I AM INCLINED TO GO BACK TO HAYA WITH REGRET THAT WE ARE UNABLE TO MAKE ANY DECLARATION AT THE MOMENT FOR THE REASONS I HAVE EXPLAINED BUT WILL LOOK FOR THE RIGHT CONTEXT AND FORUM (PERHAPS A SPEECH) TO MAKE CLEAR OUR SUPPORT FOR PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIZATION IN PERU.

10. ACTION REQUESTED: I WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING THE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE BEFORE NEXT MONDAY.
SHLAUDEMAN
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Message Attributes

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